

32 Tampitana could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum* L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally [29] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in [45] the large braided cylinders (orokroa) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyana), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the *Cariniana* genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The [71] Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá (Krause II, 280 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Aetá, and Yuruta, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how- 276 ever, does not mean that my Tampitana friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and hory, that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

177/ Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
 276 (I, I, 128) for the Káua of the upper Alari. They could not inhale
 the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough
 violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released
 the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused
 respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the
 remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can
 be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one
 135 that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful
 areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi
 told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there
 are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being
 much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the
 Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their
 manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only
 the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu
 Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The
 inhabitants of Tampitana resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó
 in their use of the jokubá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes
 in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact
 that only the men smoke in Tampitana. [Ed., end of Vol. 121.]

[122.33] Chapter 11

The Life Cycle of the Individual

Birth

192 In Tapirapé, afu means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the re-
 mainder of the paragraph and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

135 I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the
 105 Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by
 144 Reverend Kegal and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside
 the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the
 women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another
 hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943

SP22 Tapirape SP22

RELATÓRIO DO MUNDO NACIONAL — ANTHROPOLOGIA N. 2 — (1-8-1943) 43

142
291
301
756
● 276
786
796



Fig. 2

Os jovens aqui, no estado de nudez, quando estiverem a caminho do vilarejo de Tapirape, aonde devem de comparecer de tarde. Estão acompanhados por dois jovens parentes a respeito de, no alto.

A young man, in a tribal state, as he enters the village street during the day market of the Tapirape Community. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943

SP22 Tapirape SP22

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WAGLEY — TAPIRAPE CHAMANISM

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Fig. 3

Young man in traditional costume, wearing a large feathered headdress. He is standing in the village square, looking towards the camera. The background shows a thatched-roof hut and some trees.

Young man in traditional costume, wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is standing in the village square, looking towards the camera. The background shows a thatched-roof hut and some trees.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943

SP22 Tapirape SP22

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177
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786
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Fig. 4

Quatro jovens dançando no círculo, usando o pequeno ornamento
cerimonial de cabeça. Também são danças por ocasião festiva de tabaco,
o primeiro é um círculo de dança. Como o de Fig. 3, este grupo de al-
tamente a segunda vez do círculo.

Another young man wearing the dangerous ceremonial
headdress. He is 10 years from evolving tobacco smoke and now to a
young man. Like the other of Fig. 3 he is left before making second line
in the village circle.



Fig. 12

Os dois papéis representando formas de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final do comércio de Tabaco, em que tiram o peso do papagaio. A população do distrito ainda não se reúne. Cada homem tira o conteúdo do tubo, e o jovem, o direito, está preparando formas de cachimbo.

The two diagrams representing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Tabaco ceremony when they cut the people of danger. The village population has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is preparing smoke from his pipe.

MARTIN DO MUNDO NACIONAL — ANTROPOLÓGICA X. 3 — 15-9-1913 80

the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wantanem died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman": it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

SORCERY

The Tapirape tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirape there were rumors of a possible combat between Urakamu and Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urakamu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke much tobacco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urakamu. From there Panteri will throw his anhangitina (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urakamu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans listen to their aid: it was at this point that the narrative, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fever and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling, gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his anhangitina to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 77 for the use of tobacco in ceremonies, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanic ceremonies.

(11) The anhangitina is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long, tall feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirape down the back tied to the chest "pig tail" headdress (See Fig. 1 on page 61).

- 643 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
 653 an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Intra-
 657 ments could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been re-
 venged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that
 shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great
 anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
- 663 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
 753 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day
 following the murder the murderer must retire to his hammock
 and have eat of a white clay, hot (lepa), and drink until he vomits of a
 brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
 673 his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire
 683 body black with genipe (*Genipe americana*) and put red urucu paint
 in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
 with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had per-
 693 formed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year
 at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who
 have killed shamans must drink of kanió (17) until they vomit, so cleans-
 ing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next
 harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

- 276 Among the Tapirope tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing
 and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirope
 village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant.
 People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it.
 Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their
 gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

673 (16) When I left the Tapirope in May, 1941, a grudge existed between two
 683 men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamatiki's father, arrested,
 and criticized Kamatiki because he had killed Kaitirapi, Kamatiki's wife's father.
 The antagonism was never over. When they met they treated each other formally
 and coldly. Other Tapirope told me that Kamatiki's wife continually grieved
 about the behavior of Kamatiki's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamatiki's
 father".

693 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
 703 to possess.

WAGLEY ON NUNO NACHIAL — ANTHROPOLOGICAL N. 3 — 15-9-1943 23

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Individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long.

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure; but its principal uses among the Tapirape are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirape men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and aches are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body.

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient; then he blows smoke over his own hands, spins into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg.

The most frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great sashes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and unconscious; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with mucus but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Patients, women, women which are opened into body by surgery. (954)

(19) It hardly need be said that patient do not eat before eating in the morning, but prefer to eat with an empty stomach.

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[+28]

[517]
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[276]

veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapt where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756
787
[224]

The cleaning of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Pastori was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from on one and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276
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A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage *kaat*. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapt shamans meet "fight" against Thunder and his ac-

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Other prophecies are only made known to people after events have passed them over.

756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive; yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult

756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, undoubtedly perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a pond, his mouth, and swallows smoke from his mother's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the novices fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke; during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three days. Later, when the novice returns to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Each evening prior each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions.

(87) During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming; he also refrains from bathing and so becomes (88) grumpy. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such (89) as the piglet (Tapiro) (Tapiro) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat maize flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

SOLSTICE ON MURU KACHIVAI — ANTHROPOLOGICAL N. 3 — (3-9-1913) 91

In January 1943 this ceremony was announced without warning 276
 by Pantari, one of the two powerful shamans of the village. One morn- 533
 ing very early while it was still night, he woke up, lighted his pipe 796
 and began to swallow tobacco smoke as he would when performing a
 cure. Then he began to sing, accompanied by his wife who sang in a
 higher counterpointal key. His song called Thunder to come to the
 village and announced that he would see *tupi* and *pani'-dinovers* the
 next day. He sang that "many Tapirape would die" (29). By day-
 break he had finished his song and all those who had waked to hear
 were asleep again. The village knew that Pantari had begun the cere-
 mony by challenging Thunder, and by noon on that day Urukama,
 another powerful shaman, took up the song — swallowing smoke,
 vomiting, and singing accompanied by his wife. After an hour or
 more, Urukama retired into his hammock and the song was taken up
 first by one and then by another shaman or novice to shamanism; until
 sunset this singing continued.

At sunset shamans and novices came one by one, to the dance
 ground in front of the ceremonial house and repeated the performances
 of swallowing smoke until intoxicated. In turn, then, each of these
 stood up with this wife, the two facing each other and about five feet
 apart, and sang together. By nightfall this cycle of singing in the
 plaza was ended. Thunder had been called and his creatures would
 appear in the village on the next day.

For the three following days during which the ceremonies con- 796
 tinued, sunset always marked a distinct change in the activities. There
 seemed always to be two distinct phases of the ceremony — one for
 the daylight hours and the other for the twilight.

Early on the morning of the second day of the ceremonies that
 I witnessed, preparations were made for the daytime activities. In
 each of the nine dwellings a door was broken through each side wall
 at the point nearest to the neighboring house. Paths were then swept
 between the houses, leading from one of these new doors to another and
 so forming a circular path about the village and passing through each
 house. The inhabitants of the largest of the dwellings (A) on the ac-

(29) To "die" in the ceremony is to fall in a trance from the effect of the
 song's power. During this trance the soul leaves the body and travels to the house
 of Thunder.

776 composing map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the open floor of their smoking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 About midday Pantari, in his house, began again to sing and gulp
776 smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang. Pantari punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their own house again, Pantari took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Pantari relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 Urakuna and his wife then made four similar trips about the new
786 circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the
796 ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger, as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he jerked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *ngpi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Pantari or Urakuna. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he managed and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon attempts to shamane and several other *ngpi* took up the ceremony of calling *Thunder* by traversing the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*ngpi* did not hear their songs". Several others

WAGLEY ON MOUNT KAGURU. — ANTHROPOLOGIA N. 3 — 11-2-1913 87

"new rapt" and were struck down as the young shaman had been 177
 earlier that day. One shaman arose, staggering blindly and vomiting 276
 violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially 786
 supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately on the 796
 ground. Finally, toward sundown, Pament took up his song again.
 He still was "stronger than rapt" and was able to perform his song
 without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been 276
 closed. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the 533
 ceremony. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the 796
 house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through
 the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urakuma and Pament, stood in the
 middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes
 and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young
 men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier.
 These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their
 rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front
 of them Haruwant, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a
 bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder: they played accom-
 paniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and [537]
 beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again
 young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo
 singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles,
 offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were con-
 stantly on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only
 when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to
 the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly,
 challenging rapt and spirit-shamans to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their visitors and to helpers. 276
 The two shamans also now began walking back and forth the length 796
 of the house, first alone and then each taking a visitor with him.
 One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the
 house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere
 grew tense. All spread out under and a fairly engulged them in
 they moved walking and rolling about. Everyone took up a grating [538]
 chant of "Hoo, hoo!" Some carried arrows and red parrot feathers [543]
 as weapons against the rapt. The two chief shamans carried markers

276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying tapl and pash-
shewers to come. During all this time the singing continued with its
(535) accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for
intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Pashet stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
796 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
776 me that he had seen pash-shewers sent by Thunder. He rushed to
the far end of the house and pointed again; he saw a tapl. He moved
backwards in fright; then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright,
and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran
through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and
staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side
and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife,
who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and
dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a
sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner,
struck down by the brigs of Thunder and were dragged to the inde-
lites where women blew smoke over them and massaged them. With
this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained rock-
ing upon the ground because they were "weak from the light".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Pashet, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Uru-
kama looked where Pashet had pointed, put his hands over the back
of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are
many pash-shewers and many tapl in the house", one of the Indians
told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the cere-
mony fell suddenly to the ground; only Pashet and Urukama were
strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of
the fallen men came to their aid and other men fastigged and mas-
saged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die
and return brigs back life. Without return Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
(535) their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment in
each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys
brought the phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

46/ bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Id., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-104, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[147] [105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapá may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or hunt had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapá, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Id., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

97/ When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 98/ apaxiá of the Tapirapá, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

[147] As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique of our adolescents, comparing piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunk. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

881
292
902



292
761
276



345



292
532
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Figure 12.—Tapirape ceremony and house construction. Top, left: Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy chains of house beams will be supported by the back of hair wrapped in cotton web. Top, right: Dancers wearing dangerous ceremonial headpieces during Thunder ceremony. He is introduced by tobacco and is a house slave. Bottom, left: Construction of man's house. Bottom, right: Dances made representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come in sleep for a time in the man's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of hawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikabé) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring Carajá. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the Carajá. [64]

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step. [24]

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the Carajá are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a Carajá sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown. [171]

Shikabanda.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first harvest of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [75]

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756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 The Tapirapé do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occa-
249 sionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 No alcoholic beverages are known to the Tapirapé. Beverages made
[273] from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

771 Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, *ançunga* (spirit or shadow).

775 The *ançunga* liherera, human spirits or ghosts (*aka* or *ançunga* among the Tapinomba), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The Tapirapé are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a *kurukú* frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a parrot, that of a woman. The souls [792] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called *ançunga*, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many Tapirapé as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many *ançunga*, among whom were the *ewakú* *ankú*, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The *mumplankú* were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the Tapirapé, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] Tapirapé men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] bottom, right).

796 Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (*ançunga*) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (*kaó*) and the ceremony of *hawi* (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is
756 threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirape* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity. 241/776

Kawawa, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratana surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the *tapí* (probably equivalent to the *Tapirape* word, "upan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair. 776

The *tapí* travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the *tapí* shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, top, right) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the *tapí* against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness. [921] [781] [276] [752]

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirape* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (*paná*) depend on the number of his familiar spirits. 756 [787] [774]

The *Tapirape* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body. 754 756

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirape* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery. 754 [755] 683

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient, 755 276

755 rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the
[274] malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits
it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much sucking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

752 Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous
[75] spirits (anhangs); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there
[189] can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirape* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the
[167] number of petaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirape* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial society groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirape* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupi*
[191] pattern.

Among the various *Tapirape* heroes are *Apiwemou* and *Petura*. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirape*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, *Apiwemou* returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirape*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of *Petura* that he stole hatchets and knives from the *emu* and gave them to the *Tapirape*.

Txawamand is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical *ampúawa*, enemies of the *Tapirape*, who made him die a lingering death. *Wandina*, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by *Kanawana*, the Thunder. *Waré* was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

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